

Message Text

CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NEW DE 15147 01 OF 03 081653Z

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AMCONSUL CALCUTTA

AMCONSUL MADRAS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 3 NEW DELHI 15147

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SUBJECT: THE RETURN OF MORAL POLITICS: THE J. P. NARAYAN
MOVEMENT

REF: (A) NEW DELHI 13446

(B) NEW DELHI 14371

SUMMARY: J. P. NARAYAN TOOK HIS MORAL PROTEST MESSAGE ON A SUCCESSFUL SWING THROUGH NORTH INDIAN IN LATE OCTOBER DRAWING ENORMOUS CROWDS IN LUDHIANA AND NEW DELHI. FOLLOWING AN UNFRUITFUL NOVEMBER 1 MEETING WITH MRS. GANDHI, HE RETURNED TO BIHAR AND LED THREE MORE DAYS OF DEMONSTRATIONS IN THAT BELEAGUERED STATE. NARAYAN'S RECENT SUCCESSES HAVE STRENGTHENED HIS STRONG MORAL IMAGE AMONG THE INDIAN POPULATION, AND HIS PUBLIC DETERMINATION TO BUILD ON THE MOMENTUM HE HAS GENERATED IN BIHAR AND ELSEWHERE IS NOW VIEWED AS A SERIOUS POLITICAL THREAT BY MRS. GANDHI. PROSPECTS FOR ACCOMODATION BETWEEN THE TWO HAVE BEEN DIMMED BY NARAYAN'S GROWING INCLINATION TO DISPARAGE MRS. GANDHI IN PUBLIC AND MRS. GANDHI'S OWN FEARS THAT COMPROMISE WOULD WEAKEN HER PERSONAL PRESTIGE AND THE CONGRESS SUPPORT BASE ON WHICH SHE DEPENDS. CONGRESS IS PLANNING A "COUNTER-CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 NEW DE 15147 01 OF 03 081653Z

OFFENSIVE" AND MRS. GANDHI MAY TRY TO ABSORB, AT LEAST IN

FORM, SOME OF NARAYAN'S PLATFORM (E. G. ELECTION REFORM) TO DEFLATE THE MOVEMENT'S APPEAL. DURING THE UPCOMING MONTHS, MRS. GANDHI CAN BE EXPECTED TO USE ALL HER FORMIDABLE POLITICAL, ADMINISTRATIVE AND FINANCIAL RESOURCES TO CONTAIN NARAYAN'S APPEAL. SHE WILL PROBABLY BE SUCCESSFUL IN THIS, BUT WILL NOT BE ABLE TO SNUFF OUT THE MOVEMENT. INDEED, NOBODY IS PREPARED TO PREDICT WITH CERTAINTY JUST HOW THIS QUINTESSENTIALLY INDIAN FORCE, SO REMINISCENT OF THE GANDHIAN NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENTS OF DECADES AGO WILL DEVELOP FROM HERE.

1. J.P. NARAYAN'S MOVEMENT AGAINST POLITICAL CORRUPTION IN THE STATE OF BIHAR FOLLOWED AN AWKWARD PATTERN OF FITS AND STARTS UNTIL EARLY LAST MONTH (OCTOBER 3-6) WHEN IT SPONSORED A STATEWIDE GENERAL STRIKE THAT SUCCESSFULLY CLOSED DOWN MOST OF BIHAR'S URBAN CENTERS (REFTEL A). SINCE THEN THE MOVEMENT HAS GATHERED A WIDENING MOMENTUM (REFTEL B), AROUSED GROWING CONCERN ON THE PART OF MRS. GANDHI AND HER COLLEAGUES ABOUT ITS IMPACT ON NATIONAL POLITICS, AND INCREASED THE EFFORTS OF NARAYAN'S MANY SYMPATHIZERS WITHIN CONGRESS TO FIND GROUNDS FOR ACCOMODATION BETWEEN THE AGING (73) SARVODAYA LEADER AND THE PRIME MINISTER.

2. NARAYAN ENERGETICALLY FOLLOWED UP THE EARLY OCTOBER SHUTDOWN (BANDH) IN BIHAR WITH A SWING THROUGH NORTH INDIA. AFTER ADDRESSING RALLIES IN SEVERAL OF RAJASTHAN'S URBAN CENTERS (OCTOBER 25-27) HE MOVED ON TO THE PUNJAM AND DELHI. HE SPOKE TO MAMMOTH RALLIES IN THE PUNJAB DISTRICT TOWN OF LUDHIANA, (200,000 TURNED OUT) OCTOBER 31, AND NEW DELHI, NOVEMBER 1 (ANOTHER 200,000 AT LEAST). THE DELHI AUDIENCE WAS REPORTEDLY THE LARGEST TO BE ATTRACTED BY A POLITICAL LEADER IN THE CITY SINCE NEHRU'S DEATH, AND SUBSTANTIALLY LARGER THAN CROWDS DRAWN BY MRS. GANDHI IN SEVERAL PUBLIC MEETINGS THE SAME WEEKEND. NARAYAN MET WITH THE PRIME MINISTER IN A HASTILY CALLED AND UNPRODUCTIVE MEETING NOVEMBER 1 AT WHICH, PRESS AND OTHER REPORTS ALL AGREED, BOTH HAD REFUSED TO BUDGE ON ANY OF THE MAJOR ISSUES SEPARATING THEM. NARAYAN THEN RETURNED TO PATNA AND THREE MORE DAYS (NOVEMBER 3-6) OF MARCHES, DEMONSTRATIONS AND BANDHS.

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PAGE 03 NEW DE 15147 01 OF 03 081653Z

3. MORE PRESSURE IN BELEAGUERED BIHAR:
INDIANS WITH LONG, BUT PERHAPS NOT ALWAYS ACCURATE MEMORIES, ALLEGE THAT THE EXTENSIVE SECURITY AND ADMINISTRATIVE PREPARATIONS MOBILIZED TO HANDLE NARAYAN'S LATEST DEMONSTRATIONS IN BIHAR AND NEW DELHI HAVE EXCEEDED ANYTHING THE BRITISH MARSHALLED TO CONTAIN THE CONGRESS NON-COOPERATION MOVEMENTS IN THE 1920'S AND 1930'S. (THE PRESS HAS LATELY BEGUN TO FOCUS ON THE MANY PARALLELS BETWEEN NARAYAN'S VERY

GANDHIAN MOVEMENT AND THE NON-COOPERATIVE MOVEMENTS AGAINST THE BRITISH, AND TO NOTE THE IRONY OF GOI LEADERS, WHO AS YOUTHS PARTICIPATED IN THE LATTER, NOW MANNING THE TRENCHES AGAINST A SIMILAR MOVEMENT CARRIED ON BY A YOUNGER GENERATION.) 1,500 TROOPS FROM BORDER SECURITY FORCE AREA AND 8,000 MEMBERS OF THE CENTRAL RESERVE POLICE WERE ASSIGNED TO SUPPLEMENT STATE POLICE UNITS. DEMONSTRATORS ATTEMPTING TO ENTER PATNA WERE TURNED AWAY BY POLICE ROADBLOCKS. TRAIN AND BUS SERVICES WERE CANCELLED. LEADING OPPOSITION POLITICIANS AND SARVODAYA LEADERS ARRIVING FROM OTHER PARTS OF INDIA WERE IMMEDIATELY EXTERNEED FROM THE STATE. SEVERAL THOUSAND PEOPLE WERE PUT UNDER "PREVENTIVE" ARREST DURING THE DAYS PRECEDING THE DEMONSTRATION. ATTEMPTS BY NARAYAN AND HIS NON-VIOLENT FOLLOWERS TO MARCH TOWARD THE BIHAR SECRETARIAT (WHICH FOR MONTHS HAS BEEN SURROUNDED BY TWO SIX-FOOT HIGH FENCES OF WOOD AND WIRE AND GUARDED BY SIZEABLE PARAMILITARY UNITS) WERE CHECKED BY POLICE ROADBLOCKS. AN ATTEMPT TO SURROUND A WELL-GUARDED STATE CABINET MINISTER'S HOME PRODUCED A CONFRONTATION WITH THE POLICE WHICH RESULTED IN MINOR INJURIES TO NARAYAN HIMSELF FROM POLICEMEN'S CLUBS.

CONFIDENTIAL

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 NEW DE 15147 02 OF 03 081741Z

51

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 2 OF 3 NEW DELHI 15147

4. THOUGH THE EXTENSIVE SECURITY MEASURES DEFLATED THE BANDH'S TURNOUT, THE DEMONSTRATORS SUCCESSFULLY ACCOMPLISH-

ED THEIR OBJECTIVE OF CLOSING DOWN DIHAR'S CAPITOL FOR TWO STRAIGHT DAYS, AND NEARLY ALL OF THE STATE DISTRICT AND SUB-DISTRICT TOWNS ON THE THIRD. NARAYAN HAS ANNOUNCED THAT HIS EFFORTS IN BIHAR WILL NOW CONCENTRATE ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A "PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT" THAT WILL COMPETE WITH THE STATE'S OWN GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS. SOURCES WHO HAVE BEEN TO BIHAR AND NEWSPAPER ACCOUNTS INDICATE THAT HE HAS ALREADY MADE SOLID PROGRESS IN PUSHING HIS ORGANIZATIONAL ACTIVITY DOWN TO THE DISTRICT AND BLOCK LEVELS. A BIHAR DISTRICT MAGISTRATE ADMITTED PRIVATELY TO US THAT THE MOVEMENT HAD WIDESPREAD -- AND UNEXPECTED--SUPPORT AMONG ALL RURAL GROUPS IN HIS NORTHERN BIHAR AREA. THE MOVEMENT WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY CONTINUE TO DOMINATE THE ADMINISTRATIVE AND POLITICAL LIFE IN THIS STATE DURING THE UPCOMING MONTHS, REGARDLESS OF WHAT THE PRIME MINISTER MAY DO.

4. PROSPECTS FOR NARAYAN'S SUCCESS OUTSIDE OF BIHAR REMAIN MIXED:
OUTSIDE OF BIHAR, J.P.'S LARGE AND ENTHUSIASTIC RECAPTION IN THE PUNJAB (WHERE STRONG SIKH OPPOSITION TO THE CURRENT CONGRESS LEADERSHIP COALESCED BOTH LEFTIST AND RIGHT-CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 02 NEW DE 15147 02 OF 03 081741Z

IST GROUPS IN SUPPORT OF NARAYAN, AND THE REEMERGENCE OF A FORMERLY EXTREMELY INFLUENTIAL NEW DELHI CONGRESS LEADER, BRAHM PRAKASH, FROM RETIREMENT TO SUPPORT JP, HAVE INCREASED SPECULATION THAT JP'S MOVEMENT IS GATHERING MOMENTUM ELSEWHERE IN NORTHERN INDIA. WHILE A ONE DAY "BANDH" IN NEW DELHI NOVEMBER 4 CALLED BY THE "RIGHTEST" JANA SANGH BUT VIEWED AS A SYMBOL OF JP'S SUPPORT IN THE CITY ENJOYED ONLY LIMITED SUCCESS, THIS TOO MAY HAVE BEEN PARTLY DUE TO THE LARGE DISPLAY OF FORCE (25,000 POLICE AND PARAMILITARY PERSONNEL) AND THE ARREST OF 900 "AGITATORS" BEFORE THE BANDH WAS DUE TO BEGIN. A SIMILAR BANDH CALL IN UTTAR PRADESH, NOVEMBER 6, HOWEVER, APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN A COMPLETE FLOP. NARAYAN HAS ANNOUNCED THAT HE WILL CONTINUE TO STRENGTHEN HIS MOVEMENT'S ACTIVITIES OUTSIDE OF BIHAR. HIS SUCCESS WILL ULTIMATELY DEPEND ON HIS ABILITY TO PROMOTE AN INSTITUTIONALIZED, SELF-SUSTAINING BASE FOR THE MOVEMENT WHICH IS NOT DIRECTLY LINKED TO HIS TRANSITORY PERSON-PRESENCE AND ONE-TIME DISPLAYS OF ENTHUSIASM.

6. NARAYAN SQUARES OFF AGAINST MRS. GANDHI:
NARAYAN HAS RECENTLY STRUCK AN INCREASINGLY HOSTILE PUBLIC POSTURE TOWARDS MRS. GANDHI THAT COULD INHIBIT THE ONGOING EFFORTS BY FOLLOWERS ON BOTH SIDES TO FORGE A COMPROMISE. SEVERAL DAYS AGO IN BIHAR, HE PROCLAIMED THAT THE PRESENT "STRUGGLE" IS NO LONGER BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF BIHAR AND THAO

CONGRESS CHIEF MINISTER BUT BETWEEN THE PEOPLE OF INDIA AND MRS. INDIRA GANDHI. HE HAS DESCRIBED HER AS THE "GANGOTRI" OF CORRUPTION IN INDIA (GANGOTRI REFERS TO THE SOURCE OF THE GANGES IN THE HIMALAYAS) AND SAID (IN A TRANS-

LATION FROM HINDI) "OH, QUEEN OF DELHI, LOOK WHOSE SIDE THE PEOPLE ARE ON." BOTH REFERENCES ARE PARTICULARLY INSULTING IN HINDI AND ALLEGE NOT ONLY CORRUPT, NEO-MONARCHICAL AND AUTOCRATIC WAYS BUT IMPLY THAT MRS. GANDHI'S REAL POWER IS RESTRICTED TO DELHI.

7. MRS. GANDHI'S RESPONSE: SUCH PERSONAL ATTACKS PROBABLY ONLY STRENGTHEN MRS. GANDHI'S PERSPECTIVE OF NARAYAN'S MOVEMENT AS A POLITICAL THREAT DIRECTED AGAINST HER PERSONALLY. CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 NEW DE 15147 02 OF 03 081741Z

THOUGH EFFORTS BY SOME CONGRESS ELEMENTS TO ARRANGE A FURTHER MEETING AND A NEGOTIATED COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE TWO WILL CONTINUE, SHE IS BEING PUSHED BY CONSIDERATIONS OF PRESTIGE AND "FACE" TO REMAIN FIRM ON THE POLITICAL ISSUES UNLESS NARAYAN HIMSELF LESSENS HIS DEMANDS, SHE HAS BEEN QUOTED IN THE LAST WEEK AS REITERATING THAT THE BIHAR ASSEMBLY "COULD NOT BE DISSOLVED BY MERE SHOUTING OF POLITICAL SLOGANS ON THE ROADS AND STREETS AS THIS WOULD GO AGAINST THE FUNDAMENTAL DEMOCRATIC RIGHT OF THE FRANCHISE OF MILLIONS OF PEOPLE". MEANWHILE, THE CONGRESS PARTY ITSELF IS GIRDING TO LAUNCH A "COUNTER-OFFENSIVE" IN BIHAR, DRAWING ON CPI SUPPORT, THAT WILL INCLUDE PUBLIC RALLIES, SEMINARS AND ATTENDANT PUBLICITY HIGHLIGHTING CONGRESS CHARGES THAT NARAYAN IS OUT TO DESTROY DEMOCRACY AND TO FOMENT PUBLIC DISORDER.

8. MRS. GANDHI KNOWS THAT HER GOVERNMENT'S SIZEABLE POLICE AND PARA-MILITARY FORCES CAN EFFECTIVELY CHECK AND CIRCUMSCRIBE NARAYAN'S PERIODIC PROTEST DEMONSTRATIONS. SHE CAN COUNT ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL COMPARTMENTILIZATION AND SOCIETAL FRAGMENTATION IN INDIA TO CONTAIN HIS MOVEMENT'S EXPANSION. FURTHER ASSETS THAT SHE CAN BRING TO BEAR ARE HER OWN NATIONAL IMAGE, HER CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL SKILLS AND THE ENORMOUS FINANCIAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL RESOURCES OF HER PARTY.

9. PITFALLS MRS. GANDHI MUST AVOID: BUT MRS. GANDHI WILL HAVE TO PROCEED CAUTIOUSLY IF SHE INTENDS TO CONTINUE A POLICY OF CONFRONTATION WITH NARAYAN. NUMEROUS MODERATE AND RIGHT-WING ELEMENTS IN HER PARTY, PLUS THE BULK OF THE FORMER SOCIALIST PARTY POLITICIANS IN CONGRESS FORMERLY ASSOCIATED WITH NARAYAN, ALL STRONGLY PREFER AN ACCOMODATION. POWERFUL UNION CABINET MINISTERS RAM (WHO IS FROM BIHAR) AND CHAVAN, HER FORMER SECRETARY, P. N. HAKSAR, AND PERHAPS OTHERS AS WELL, ARE ALSO REPORTEDLY URGING COMPROMISE.

IN TAKING ON NARAYAN, THE PRIME MINISTER MAY FIND HER MOST ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORTERS AMONG PRO-CPI ELEMENTS IN CONGRESS AND THE CPI ITSELF. AN UNCOMPROMISING STAND COULD THEREFORE EXACERBATE ALREADY SIMMERING INTRA-CONGRESS TENSIONS DURING THE COMING 15 MONTHS BEFORE THE NEXT NATIONAL ELECTIONS.

10. EVENTS OVER THE PAST MONTH HAVE PROBABLY BROUGHT HOME
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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 04 NEW DE 15147 02 OF 03 081741Z

TO MRS. GANDHI THE REALITY THAT THE TYPE OF CHALLENGE NARAYAN POSES IS ONE THAT SHE HAS NOT CONFRONTED BEFORE AND ONE WHICH WILL NOT NECESSARILY YIELD TO A "HARD LINE" -OR TO THE EXERCISE OF THE UNPARALLELED POLITICAL SKILLS SHE HAS SHOWN UP TO NOW. SHE MAY, THEREFORE, ADJUST BY SHIFTS FROM DIRECT "CONFRONTATION" TO INDIRECT "ACCOMADATION" POLITICS, ABSORBING SOME OF NARAYAN'S PROPOSALS (AT LEAST IN FORM) IN AN EFFORT TO DEFLATE HIS PLATFORM AND THEREBY WEAKEN HIS EFFECTIVENESS. SHE AND HER MINISTERS ARE NOW TALKING OPENLY ABOUT PRESENTING PARLIAMENT WITH AN ELECTORAL REFORM BILL AND WORKING WITH OPPOSITION PARTY LEADERS TO OBTAIN A CONSENSUS ON FINANCIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS. SHE IS ALSO KNOWN TO WANT TO FOLD UP THE NOTORIOUSLY CORRUPT, INEFFECTIVE AND HOPELESSLY FISSURED GHAFOR MINISTRY IN BIHAR, IF SHE CAN FIND A WAY TO DO SO THAT DOES NOT APPEAR TO BE A JP VICTORY.

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PAGE 01 NEW DE 15147 03 OF 03 081749Z

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AMEMBASSY KATHMANDU

AMCONSUL BOMBAY
AMCONSUL CALCUTTA
AMCONSUL MADRAS

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 3 OF 3 NEW DELHI 15147

11. NARAYAN AS A MORAL FORCE IN INDIAN POLITICS: REGARD-
LESS OF THE TACTICAL SHIFTS SHE CHOOSES TO ADOPT, THE PRIME
MINISTER HAS, IN NARAYAN, THE MOST FORMIDABLE CHALLENGE TO
HER PERSONAL AUTHORITY SINCE COMING TO POWER, AND THE
ONLY PHENOMENON OF ITS KIND SINCE MAHATMA GANDHI TOOK ON
THE BRITISH RAJ. NARAYAN IS ABLE TO COMBINE SYMBOLIC
PROTESTS AGAINST THE ECONOMIC WOES OF INDIA AND THE CORRUPT-
TION AND MALADMINISTRATION THAT HAS COME TO CHARACTERIZE
CONGRESS RULE WITH HIS OWN, UNASSAILABLE, IMPECCABLE
REPUTATION FOR INTEGRITY AND MORAL IMAGE AS A "JIVANDANI"
OR ONE WHO, LIKE GANDHI, HAD DEDICATED HIS
TOTAL SELF TO THE GOOD OF OTHERS. IN HINDU THOUGHT, SUCH
RENUNCIATION REPRESENTS THE ESSENCE OF PURITY, THE CONQUEST
OF MORALITY OVER SUFFERING AND MATERIAL DESIRES. ASIDE
FROM ACHARYA BHABE, NARAYAN IS THE ONLY INDIAN TODAY WHO
ENJOYS SUCH STATURE, A HISTORY OF THE CLOSEST ASSOCIATION
WITH GANDHI AND NEHRU IN THE 20 YEARS BEFORE INDIAN IN-
DEPENDENCE AND AN INTELLIGENCE OF A HIGH ORDER.
NARAYAN'S REJECTION OF POWER IN 1952 WHEN NEHRU OFFERED HIM
INDIA'S DEPUTY PRIME-MINISTERSHIP; HIS ABSTINENCE FROM SEX
THROUGHOUT HIS MARRIED LIFE; HIS GANDHIAN STYLE OF SIMPLE LIVING;
AND HIS INSISTENCE THAT MORALITY MUST NOT BE DIVORCED FROM POLITICS
HAVE EARNED HIM ENORMOUS FAVOR AMONG POLITICALLY CONSCIOUS,
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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 02 NEW DE 15147 03 OF 03 081749Z

NON-WESTERNIZED INDIANS. IF NARAYAN WERE TO BE ARRESTED,
A STEP THE PRIME MINISTER HAS CAREFULLY AND PURPOSEFULLY A-
VOIDED THUS FAR, THERE IS A STRONG POSSIBILITY THAT HE WOULD
LAUNCH A "FAST UNTO DEATH". THE RESULTS OF SUCH AN ACTION
COULD PRECIPITATE ENORMOUS UNREST AND POISON THE DOMESTIC
POLITICAL ATMOSPHERE IN INDIA FOR YEARS TO COME.

12. WHERE TO FROM HERE?: NO ONE IS PREPARED TO ANTICIPATE
WITH CERTAINTY HOW NARAYAN'S MOVEMENT WILL CONTINUE TO DE-
VELOP. THOUGH ESSENTIALLY A NEGATIVE-
ORIENTED FORCE AND WITHOUT A SECOND ECHELON TO PICK UP THE
TORCH SHOULD HE DIE, WHILE NARAYAN LIVES HE ILLUMINATES AND
ENERGIZES THE MOVEMENT WITH HIS OWN PRESENCE. THE PAST
MONTH HAS ILLUSTRATED THAT THE POTENTIAL OF THIS CANNOT BE
UNDERESTIMATED. MRS. GANDHI IS WIDELY BELIEVED TO HAVE MADE
THIS MISTAKE EARLIER THIS YEAR. SHE WILL NOT DO SO AGAIN.

13. THE ORGANIZED POLITICAL OPPOSITION, FROM THE JANA SANGH
TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY (MARXIST) AND THE NEW MIDDLE-OF-THE-

ROAD BHARATIYA LOK DAL (NEW DELHI POL NOTE SEPT. 6, 1974)
HAVE INCREASINGLY TRIED TO TIE THEIR POLITICAL CARTS TO
JP'S DRIVING FORCE. THEY HOPE THE MOVEMENT WILL CONTINUE
TO BUILD, AT LEAST UNTIL THE 1976 NATIONAL ELECTIONS AND
PROVIDE A BASE FROM WHICH TO DEFEAT MRS. GANDHI. J.P. HIM-
SELF HAS NO CLEAR POLITICAL PROGRAM OTHER THAN TO PURIFY
POLITICS, BUT HE APPEARS TO SEE CLEARLY THAT THE SORDID
CHARACTER OF SOME OF HIS LOUDEST SUPPORTERS WEAKENS HIS
OWN EFFORTS AND THAT PARTIES AND PEOPLE HE DETESTS ARE TRY-
ING TO USE HIM. HE IS TRYING BOTH TO REDUCE HIS OWN RE-
LIANCE ON THE ORGANIZING STRENGTH OF THESE GROUPS AND TO
BUILD AN INDEPENDENT ORGANIZATIONAL (AND YET NON-POLITICAL)
BASE. IT IS THESE CONTRADICTIONS AND WEAKNESSES IN HIS
MOVEMENT WHICH PROBABLY LET MRS. GANDHI TO UNDERESTIMATE THE
PROSPECTS FOR NARAYAN'S SUCCESS IN BIHAR, AND WHICH, EVEN
NOW CONVINCE MAY POLITICIANS AND PERHAPS THE PRIME MINISTER THAT
ULTIMATELY EITHER NARAYAN'S HEALTH OR AGE OR THE LACK OF ORGANI-
ZATION BEHIND HIM WILL PLACE A FINAL LIMIT ON HOW FAR THE MOVE-
MENT CAN GO.

14. JP IS INDEED OLD TO ATTEMPT TO REPRODUCE ON A NATION-
AL SCALE IN INDIA WHAT IT TOOK GANDHI AND NEHRU 30 YEARS TO
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PAGE 03 NEW DE 15147 03 OF 03 081749Z

DO AGAINST THE BRITISH. BUT FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE 1971
THERE IS A NEW AND REAL POLITICAL CONTEST UNDERWAY IN INDIA.
THE ODDS AND THE BETTING ARE ALL ON MRS. GANDHI. BUT INDIA
IS A CURIOUS COUNTRY.
MOYNIHAN

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